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Carthage 1861

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AN
A D D R E S S
TO THE
ELECTORS;

CONTAINING.

REASONS FOR OPPOSING THE TORIES IN GENERAL,

AND ESPECIALLY

FOR OPPOSING THE LOWTHERS

IN

Westmorland.

KENDAL:
PRINTED BY HUDSON AND NICHOLSON.

1835.

Bt from E. Kerr. (Cat. 83/2)

The sole intention of this little Pamphlet being the elucidation of truth; and to give a short summary of political occurrences in our native country during the last 150 years, for the information of those who have neither time nor opportunity to read longer publications; we shall be most happy to have our errors corrected, if any can be *proved* against us: but we beg to remark, that abuse is no argument; and that vulgar names bestowed on an opponent are very far from *proving* that opponent to have mis-stated facts.

In regard to the two guinea rides to Appleby during "the good old times," and the cheap feasting then carried on in that pretty little town; we must leave those facts to the consciences of such Electors as *have boasted* of having participated in the merry-makings.—Gooch's List of Votes is the best guide to our County Members' conduct during the last two Sessions of Parliament.



AN ADDRESS TO THE ELECTORS OF WESTMORLAND.

BROTHER ELECTORS,

Feb. 1835.

THE affairs of this kingdom have now been brought to a crisis, which renders it the duty of every individual in every station of life, conscientiously to promote the cause of religion, of morality, and of good government; and there is not one person living so very humble, as not to be able in some degree to do good either by example or influence.

Things cannot any longer be carried on as they used to be; when the wishes, almost the commands, of a few Peers and rich landowners were permitted to rule the destinies of the nation, without examination and without opposition on the part of the community at large. Education has lately made rapid progress; and there are now few persons who are unable to read and form an opinion for themselves; while the numerous publications sent forth by the press, advocating the cause of all parties, and discussing all subjects, afford an opportunity to the whole population of hearing both sides of every question, if people will only take the reasonable trouble of doing so. The excellence of our roads likewise, and the speedy communication kept up with all parts of the kingdom, have brought even the remotest corners of the island into close neighbourhood; and thus the personal rights and interests of the poorest of our countrymen, cannot henceforth be violated by local tyranny or local injustice, without the fact being immediately published from one end of Britain to another, and without giving rise to an outcry of remonstrance from all the many thousands who feel themselves liable to the same sort of oppression.

We who are now living, have been happily exempt from those castle dungeons, and cruel tortures, and violences, and extortions of petty feudal tyrants, to

A

which our forefathers were hourly exposed and which they so long groaned under ; and should we also manfully do our duty towards ourselves and descendants, our children and children's children will in future be free from much of the heavy taxation, expensive law, tithe and corporation abuses, and corrupt pensions and sinecures, to which we unfortunately are still subjected. This will be to reform, to improve our institutions according to the advancement which society has made in knowledge and civilization ; just as our forefathers, in their day, made reforms and improvements in the institutions which were then existing in our common country, and which they found to have become unfitted to the times in which they lived.

Let us first, however, look back a little into our national history ; for from its pages we may gain experience to guide our future conduct.

When the Constitution of 1688 was settled, and James 2nd was finally driven from the throne, two violent political parties quickly sprang up among the nobility and gentry ; for the voice of the people was scarcely heard, and never attended to, until more than a century later : these parties assumed the names of Whigs and Tories. The former, insisted not only on the exclusion of James 2nd from the throne of this kingdom, but also on the exclusion of all his male descendants ; because they argued, that it was madness again to trust the liberties of this nation to the family of Stuart, which had always been found hostile to freedom : the Tories, on the other hand, were desirous of making the son of James their king ; and such was the bitterness of the contest, that the present Royal family was called to fill the throne of Great Britain, by a majority of only *one* in the House of Commons. That *one* was a member for the county of Devonshire.

If, then, it has been thus proved by history, of what great importance to the national prosperity the vote of one single member of the House of Commons may be, let no Elector say hereafter, that it signifies little

who is sent up to Parliament to represent his county or his town: and more especially let no Elector imagine, that it is of little importance how or to whom he may give his vote; as it is possible, *that* one single vote might turn the scale at the election, and appoint a patriotic, independent, virtuous man to watch over the destinies of England. This very year, in fact, one single vote has decided the elections at Rochester, Halifax, Tralee, and other places.

Soon after the present Royal family was placed on the throne, that is in 1715, a rebellion broke out in Scotland; which caused such terror to the government, that an Act was passed to make the then Parliament sit seven years, instead of three years only, as was settled by the Constitution of 1688: and disgraceful it is to remember, that neither Whigs nor Tories have since had patriotism to repeal that Act, which was at the time only intended to be temporary; and thus the people have been deprived, during a space of 120 years, of their salutary right of exercising a frequent check on the conduct of the Representatives who tax them.

For upwards of fifty years after the House of Hanover ascended the throne, the two great parties of Whigs and Tories were struggling for place and power. The Tories raised the cry of "High Church," and "the Divine right of Kings to act as they please;" while the Whigs insisted, that the people were the source of all power, and had a legitimate right to discard a bad monarch, even as they had already discarded James 2nd and his male descendants: but both parties were equally corrupt and selfish in their endeavours to obtain the superiority; equally wasteful of the public money; and seem to have stuck at no means by which to gain the upper hand. George 2nd liked well enough the doctrine of the Tories, that "kings may act as they please;" but he never could be persuaded entirely to abandon the Whigs, to whom, he justly said, his own family was indebted for the crown of England: and the great rebellion of 1745, in favour of the Pretender, made the king still less inclined to put implicit

confidence in the Tory faction. Thus, then, things continued ; and the people's wealth was sacrificed between the bribery and selfishness of the two parties. Regiments were raised by individual noblemen, who drew on the Treasury for the subsistence of 600 or 800 men, when often not 150 soldiers had been actually enlisted ; and the commissions of majors, captains, &c., were very frequently bestowed upon children not yet out of the nursery : their parents pocketing the pay and emoluments ! The national crown lands were either given away, or leased out for 99 years to the influential nobles and courtiers, at mere nominal rents ; many of which abuses still exist, and are daily before our eyes in this and the neighbouring counties : but perhaps the most barefaced job in these northern parts of the kingdom, was the trustee of a charitable institution granting a lease unto himself and his heirs for 867 years, of all the mines and minerals belonging to the estates of the said charity, at an annual rent of only three pounds ten shillings. His heirs and successors are now among the most rich and powerful of the land !!! This disgraceful transaction took place in 1742 ; and was at length somewhat amended by a committee of the House of Commons in 1818, when the rent was raised : but had the property been then put up to public competition, it would probably have fetched as many thousands per annum as it now does hundreds.

A short time previous to the accession of George 3rd, in 1760, the great Earl of Chatham had given stability to the government, by introducing reforms and checking abuses. He had insured peace and content at home ; and had made his country respected by the conquest of Canada and other successes : so that the young monarch, who was an Englishman by birth and of virtuous domestic habits, and had begun his reign by making the judges independent of the crown, was hailed by his subjects with enthusiastic attachment. Unfortunately, however, George 3rd had been brought up with an extreme dislike of all

those who talked of circumscribing the royal prerogative, or who wished to give influence to the popular voice ; and therefore he at once joined himself to the Tories ; which party has continued to govern the destinies of this empire, short intervals excepted, until 1830 ; that is, for a period of seventy years.

We will now pause a little, brother Electors, in order to examine the official records of the state of Britain in the year 1760 ; then we will briefly trace the misrule of the Tories, step by step, in their course of warfare and extravagance ; and lastly, look into the official returns of the state of the nation in 1830 : after which investigation, you will be able to judge how you may best do your duty at this momentous crisis of affairs, towards yourselves—your country—and your posterity.

In 1760, the national debt was 141 millions and a half : the taxes amounted to four millions and a half annually : the poor-rates were not quite one million.

The first sad and important effect of the Tories possessing the power of the kingdom, was the loss of the American provinces after a bloody and expensive war of eight years. The Tories insisted on taxing these colonies for the benefit of the parent state, without the intervention of the provincial legislatures ; and that being taxation without representation, was contrary to the British Constitution, and consequently resisted : but so unwilling were the Americans at first to quarrel with the mother country, that they offered to raise even a greater sum of money than demanded, provided they might be allowed to tax themselves ; and yet this reasonable request was haughtily rejected by the Tory government. Tories always prefer gaining their ends by coercion, rather than by conciliation. It is said, this war was popular in England ; which is not improbable, as neither nations nor individuals like to have their authority disputed. The struggle was, however, unsuccessful on our part, and Britain was forced to acknowledge the independence of the United States, after

losing much honour, spending 32 millions in taxes, and adding 104 millions to the national debt. The eyes of the people also were opened to the fact, that their own rights and liberties had been attacked through the attempt on the colonies ; and that if the Tories had succeeded in putting down the Americans, their next endeavour would have been to put an end to the free institutions of Great Britain.

The voice of the people now first began to be heard a little in public affairs, but very gently, as a very small proportion of the labouring classes could read or write; consequently, few newspapers were published, and very little was known by the community at large of what was going forward in the political world. The French revolution, however, was far too mighty an event not to rouse the curiosity of the most ignorant, and awaken the hopes and expectations of all classes. Britons had been so long accustomed to sneer at the French as slaves, and to abuse them for submitting in the 18th century, to all the extortions and injustices of the old feudal system, that the whole nation, princes and lords and people, joined in a shout of exultation at the first breaking out of the French revolution in 1789. It was hailed as a triumph of humanity and of freedom.

It is very probable, that if the French had been permitted to manage their own affairs without the interference of their neighbours, they would quickly have settled down under at least as free a constitution as they have now obtained with Louis Phillippe, after forty years of bloodshed, warfare and changes ; for most of the leaders and promoters of the revolution in 1789, were men of great talents and much moderation ; who struggled for nearly three years against the faithlessness of the court and the increasing violence of the Jacobins ; and at last sacrificed themselves rather than join Robespierre, Marat, and those other bloodhounds, whom the court and aristocracy of France had *at first* strengthened against the patriotic reformers. But the kings of Europe would not allow the French to settle their own affairs ! They encouraged the aristocracy and

privileged classes to oppose all reforms; they persuaded the well-meaning king to break faith with his people, and violate the most solemn engagements; they organized immense armies on the frontiers, and threatened France with plunder and conquest: then it was, towards the end of the year 1792, that the French people being goaded into the madness of revenge, by the frequent attempts of the court and its partizans to deprive them of what reforms they had obtained since 1789; also exasperated by the civil war raging in some of their provinces, and by the invasion of others from the side of Germany; then it was, that the people gave themselves up to the power of remorseless villains, in order to keep peace at home by means of terror, while they marched to beat back and annihilate their invaders, and afterwards burst over Europe like a torrent.

The Tory ministers of England dare not at first openly join in the crusade against the liberties of the French people; yet they secretly assisted the enemies of France, and did every thing in their power to increase the confusion and anarchy of that unhappy country: but when it was found that the British people were beginning to awaken to the abuses existing in their own government: and to insist that the representatives in the Commons House of Parliament ought to be really elected by the Commons, and not by the Peers, then the Tories determined to involve the nation in an unnecessary war, in order to withdraw the attention of the people from Parliamentary Reform. The result of that war we all well know! After victories, and illuminations, and killing or wounding many hundred thousands of our countrymen; after a weight of taxation never before heard of in this world; and after a deadly struggle of 21 years duration: our Tory governors succeeded in thrusting that mighty soldier Buonaparte into an island prison: but they have left us to pay some thirty-five millions a year as interest of debt and pensions; they placed again our ancient enemies, the Bourbons, on the throne of

France ; they have forced Spain and Portugal to go through the horrors of civil war, to obtain those reformed institutions which our armies prevented Napoleon from giving them ; and, after all, the British people have obtained in 1832, a far more sweeping Reform in Parliament, than was ever thought of in 1793. So much for Tory judgment, and Tory government, in procrastinating the reform of abuses.

But let us watch a little more closely the Tory system of misrule ; and their mode of betraying the energies of this Nation.

Mr. Pitt started in life a thorough reformer ! but when called to govern, he said he found it impossible to overthrow the borough-mongers ; therefore he must rule through their assistance : and he thus meanly sacrificed his principles to his love of power. It is true the borough patrons were omnipotent both over the king and the House of Commons ; for during the long struggle between Whigs and Tories, both parties had purchased up the houses in decayed boroughs, or filled the close corporations of larger towns with their own relations, dependants, and partizans ; the Tories, however, having the most selfish worldly wisdom, had got the greater number of boroughs into their hands ; and the following is a correct statement of the representation of the people of Great Britain, previous to the union with Ireland.

England and Wales returned 513 members, and Scotland 45 members, to the House of Commons. 198 were nominated for rotten boroughs ; 185 were unduly returned by close corporations ; the ministry of the day could insure the election of 30 members ; and 32 seats were put up to auction, and sold to the highest bidder, by the potwallopers of some great towns : so that in fact, only 113 members out of the 558 who sat in Parliament under pretence of representing the people, had the least claim to say they were freely chosen by the people.

Mr. Pitt having placed himself at the head of the Tories, because they nominated the majority of mem-

bers to the House of Commons, and thus commanded the national purse-strings ; that party carried every thing their own way. In vain, Fox, Sheridan, Grey, &c. pointed out the iniquity of wasting the public blood and treasure, in a quarrel which did not concern us ; and which was only done to blind the people to their own true interests, and prevent Parliamentary Reform. Tax after tax was laid on the people each session ; and, as more money was still wanted, loans were raised with such thoughtless extravagance, that for each £50 paid into the public treasury, £95 were added to the national debt ; Acts of coercion and subversive of personal liberty, were continually passed by the Tories to keep down the people ; in 1797, the Bank Restriction Act robbed every creditor in the kingdom, by causing that to be paid in paper which had been borrowed in gold ; and Peel's Bill in 1819, robbed the land-holders and every debtor, by making them pay in gold what they had borrowed in paper ; thus nearly doubling all debts, because none of the salaries, pensions, or other money engagements were reduced to the new standard of value. It is true that the Tories had previously passed a vote in the House of Commons, declaring a pound note and a shilling to be equal in value to a guinea ; yet the fact was, that twenty-nine shillings were given on the Continent for a guinea, while only fourteen shillings could be obtained there for a one pound Bank of England note.

The dreadful Irish rebellion occurred in 1798, which the Tories have been accused (we hope unjustly accused) of purposely fomenting. There is no doubt, their violent and unjust measures exasperated the Irish population into insurrection : the description of the scenes which then took place in that unfortunate island, are quite heart-rending ; for both those who rebelled against, and those who supported, the government, seem equally to have forgotten the common feelings of humanity.

It is needless to dwell on the Tory spy system ; on their frequent suspensions of the Habeas Corpus ; on

the Six Acts of Castlereagh, and his reign of vengeance; for all those things are still fresh in the memory of the whole people: but it should be stated, that the Tories had filled every situation under government with their own partizans; and this exclusive system extended throughout the whole kingdom, not only as to lords lieutenants and magistrates, but also in the appointment of commissioners—surveyors—excise-men, &c. Not less than 106 Tory Peers had likewise been created; and nearly every Tory nobleman of Scotland and Ireland had been made a Peer of Parliament, in addition to the 16 and 28 Peers which those two portions of the empire have the constitutional right of sending to represent their aristocracy: thus the House of Lords has become a complete packed jury of Tories.

The victory of Waterloo at length gave us peace! And let us now compare the official record of the state of the nation in 1815, to what it was at the breaking out of the French Revolution. One thousand and thirty-five millions had been raised in taxes to support the war against France: five hundred and eighty-nine millions had been added to the national debt for the same war; the annual poor-rates had increased to above six millions; and nearly the whole of those common lands which had afforded subsistence in every part of England to the poor man's cow, or had yielded fuel to warm the poor man's cottage, had been enclosed by Acts of the Tories for the benefit of lords of manors and their wealthy neighbours, to the evident spoliation of the "vested rights" of the people. Yes! no compunction has been shown in violating the "vested rights" of the poor and industrious labourer, so that their spirit of independence has been completely broken down and the parish rates multiplied sixfold; but an unceasing outcry is raised in favour of the sacredness of such "vested rights" as belong to the clergy, the corporations, the pensioners and the sinecurists. Neither is this all that the nation owes to Tory mis-government; for out of the first

fifty-five years of their rule, they had passed thirty years in the most bloody warfare: Britain had also lost during Tory misrule, her vast colonies in America; had seen her own fleets mutiny, and blockade the Thames; had been involved in a terrible rebellion in Ireland; and had been kept in constant alarm, by riots and executions at home. But we cannot better point out the Tory burthens under which this nation groaned at the end of the war in 1815, than by copying the words of a writer in the Edinburgh Review:—

TAXES

Upon every article that enters into the mouth, or covers the back, or is placed under the feet.

TAXES

Upon every thing that is pleasant to see, hear, feel, smell, and taste.

TAXES

Upon warmth, light, and locomotion.

TAXES

On every thing on earth, and in the waters under the earth; on every thing that comes from abroad, or is grown at home.

TAXES

On the raw material;

TAXES

On every value that is added to it by the industry of man.

TAXES

On the sauce which pampers man's appetite, and on the drug which restores him to health;

On the ermine which decorates the judge, and the rope which hangs the criminal;

On the brass nails of the coffin, and the ribbons of the bride;

At bed or at board, sleeping or waking,

WE MUST PAY.

The school-boy whips his taxed top;

The beardless youth manages his taxed horse with a taxed bridle on a taxed road;

And the dying Englishman,

pouring his medicine, which has paid 7 per cent.,

into a spoon which has paid 15 per cent.,

throws himself back upon his chintz bed which has paid 22 per cent.,

makes his will on an £8 stamp,

and expires in the arms of an apothecary,

who has paid £100 for the privilege of putting him to death.

His whole property is then taxed from 2 to 10 per cent.,

besides the probate.

Large fees are demanded for burying him in the chancel;

his virtues are handed down to posterity on taxed marble;

and he is then gathered to his fathers,

TO BE TAXED NO MORE.

The blessing of Peace then, at last arrived in 1815;



but the farmers soon found out, that high prices could not be maintained ; and yet high rents were still demanded, while their former gains had been spent in good living : the landlords discovered, that their rent-rolls were nominal ; for their tenants could not pay up, although they then got corn laws passed to try and save their own incomes : the shopkeepers saw bankruptcy staring them in the face, because neither farmers nor gentry had money to buy with : merchants and manufacturers met rivals in every market, as trade was now open to all the Continental nations ; among whom, taxation—at least Tory taxation—is comparatively unknown : and when Peel's Bill on the Currency obliged all who had borrowed in paper to pay in gold, thus doubling debts by not at the same time reducing all money engagements to the new standard of value ; then many of those who had been staunch advocates of Tory war while it *seemed* to fill their pockets, joined the Whig opposition in their demands for retrenchment.

But a new party had gradually sprung up in the state, distinct from Whigs and Tories ; the party of Reformers with Mr. Hume at their head. This gentleman had entered Parliament five and twenty years ago, with a sturdy determination of exposing the extravagance of a Tory government, and of putting an end to its wastefulness. Night after night he resisted the grants of public money : at first he was assailed with the sneers of the Tories ; but he cared not : then they attempted to silence him by ridicule ; laughed at a few trifling errors of calculation which he was led into by being denied a sight of official documents, and called him a fool ; but still he went on steadily in his endeavours to diminish the expenditure : at length, whenever Mr. Hume began to speak, the Tories quitted the house and left him to talk to empty benches ; yet he persevered. “ I know,” said he, “ I can do little good in such a House of Commons as this, a large majority of which is nominated by 200 individuals who care not for the distresses of the people ;

" but the newspapers will publish my statements, and
 " by degrees these truths will tell with the public." And they did tell ! The Whigs, and also many former supporters of the Tory ministers, joined with Mr. Hume to lessen taxation : and though the Tories declared not one shilling could be spared from the revenue ; also argued on the expediency of keeping up the burdens of the people a few years longer, in order to diminish the national debt ; yet the opposition would not trust them, but said, we will cut down your supplies, and then you *must* reduce your establishments. In this manner, the income tax, the salt-tax, half the leather tax, &c., were wrung from the grasp of the Tories ; and an end was put to that *hocus-pocus* system called a sinking fund, which in theory seems so excellent, but in practice was found to place an enormous sum of money in the hands of government, which could be used in party jobs without waiting for a grant from Parliament.

Alas ! there was, and still is, the Tory debt of between eight and nine hundred millions of pounds ; which is called national, but which the Tories alone have entailed upon us. The greater part of this immense sum was borrowed in paper, but we have to pay it in gold : not two-thirds of it was actually received into the Treasury ; for the Tories willingly gave £95 in the funds, for £50 of cash to squander away : nor were the loans ever put up to fair public competition ; but were jobs in the hands of a monied monopoly. The peers, the bankers, and the other wealthy loan contractors, mostly sold out, however, when the rise of the funds doubled their fortunes, and vested their gains in landed property ; so that at this moment, the great bulk of the fundholders are widows and orphans, retired tradesmen, and individuals of small income. There are 280,000 fundholders ; of which number above 230,000 persons do not receive more than £100 a-year ; 26,000 others who do not draw for more than £200 a-year ; and very few indeed, except public charities, derive an income from the funds.

of above £500 a-year: thus, then, should funded property ever be touched, the loss will unfortunately fall upon that portion of the population which can the least bear it; while the leviathans who have swallowed up the people's substance, will escape scot-free.

Look around you, brother Electors! Reflect on what is daily passing among your countrymen! Does not this printed appeal to your judgment; a statement which you may read over and over again by your own fire-sides, pondering on its truths, and detecting its errors, if any can indeed be found in it: do not the similar appeals which are being made in every part of the kingdom; and more especially, that appeal which even the Prime Minister finds himself now obliged to make to the people: do not these things prove, that a mighty change has been effected in our social system? a change vastly for the better; because it shows, that hereafter this nation must be governed by its reason, and not by its fears.

And to whom are we chiefly indebted for this great improvement? To Henry Brougham! To that man of splendid talents—to that master-spirit of the age—Henry Brougham! He long ago perceived, that no reforms could be durable, no extension and change of the suffrage could be permanently useful, unless the population was educated; for so long as the vast majority of the constituency remained in political ignorance, so long would the people fall an easy prey to the specious promises and corrupt purposes of selfish unprincipled place-hunters.

We all remember the violent outcry which was raised by the Tory clergy and their partizans, against the formation of even Sunday schools; and when they were shamed out of an opposition which violated the spirit of the Gospel, how furious they next were against the Lancasterian system of general education. Here, again, they were beat by the progress of public opinion: and they were forced to adopt Bell's system, in order to prevent the Dissenters from having all the honour and credit of doing good. This division among



the labourers, like the quarrel between Paul and Barabbas, only caused the good work to spread with more rapid strides. And has not the result fully justified the foresight of Brougham and his associates? For no sooner had the constituencies become more enlightened than heretofore, than public opinion forced the unwilling Tories to concede improvements. The plain fact is, the Tories and their clergy knew full well, that the invention of printing had caused the overthrow of the Pope's authority, and of very many absurdities which shackled the mind of man; and they foresaw, that the diffusion of education would as surely overthrow all that part of their system which is founded on unchristian domination and mental darkness. Therefore they opposed the education of the people.

The Duke of Wellington, who is conspicuous among the many hundred naval and military conquerors of whom British history can boast, after being rewarded for his victories more munificently than any general (remaining a subject) ever was before; after being granted a pension, and above a million of money, with a vast additional sum to build a house—which house has not yet been commenced; after receiving twice £60,000 for the battle of Waterloo, when each of his soldiers received just two guineas; and after getting an enormous proportion also of the Peninsular prize-money; this Duke was made Prime Minister. Well! he found himself obliged to repeal the Corporation and Test Acts; but not until both himself and Sir Robert Peel had most violently opposed the measure in vain: they were outvoted in Parliament; and yielded rather than resign their places. Against Catholic Emancipation, these same ministers had been still more violent year after year; and yet rather than lose their places, they carried a measure of relief more sweeping than the Whigs had been demanding for the last half century; and carried it by means of so much duplicity, and of so much corruption, that it completely opened the eyes of the people to the evils of the rotten borough system. They also said themselves,

that they granted Catholic Emancipation not because they thought it just and good, but because they dreaded a civil war: thus teaching to the Irish and all agitators, that though they might gain nothing from the justice, yet they could force everything from the fears of the Tories.

The administration of the Duke of Wellington was also forced by Brougham, Hume, and the opposition, to make many reductions, and to effect much economy; yet these reductions did not touch the higher, but the inferior clerks and individuals employed; for the average salary of persons reduced by the Duke was £118, while those reduced by Earl Grey averaged £230; not less than £200,000 a-year being taken by Earl Grey from salaries of £1,000 and upwards: his own and colleagues' salaries being among the number. It must be admitted, that his Grace of Wellington showed no undue partiality towards the soldiers who had fought under him; for many were those who lost their trifling pensions, because they had not served precisely fourteen years in the army; but we never heard that the half-pay of officers—who had not perhaps served fourteen weeks—was interfered with. The Duke of Wellington at last declared, that not another shilling of the public expenditure could be taken off; and yet Earl Grey has since contrived to take off six millions of the taxation, and leave the departments of the government in a more efficient state than before.

It seems scarcely longer ago than yesterday, when it pleased the Duke of Wellington to state publicly, that no reform in the House of Commons was wanted; that none should be granted; and that the rotten borough system was the perfection of human reason: but the public voice was too strong, too indignant, to be resisted; and his Grace and the Tories were driven from power.

We all remember the Reform Bill brought forward by Lord Grey; and the factious opposition it met with for nearly two years: and we all remember, that du-

ring its discussion Lord Grey resigned office ; and that the Duke of Wellington proposed to head an Administration, which should be pledged to carry that very Reform Bill which he had denounced over and over again as destructive of the British Constitution. The people, much to their honour, scorned and rejected such bare-faced apostacy ; and insisted on Earl Grey's being re-appointed to govern them. The Reform Bill was at length passed into law ; though violently opposed to the last by the Duke of Wellington, Sir R. Peel, and the whole of those men who now form the ministry as well as by the Tories in general : the Duke of Wellington even entered his protest against the measure, *after* it had become the law of the land. And yet the people, the electors, the inhabitants of these islands, are now asked to put confidence in the reforming professions of a Tory government, headed by the Duke and Sir Robert Peel. Better may sheep trust to wolves : and housekeepers to those who plunder them. We consider the appointment of such men to rule over us as an insult to the religious feelings of the community. Let Reformers put no faith in Tories, until the tithe system is reformed, the church reformed, the corporations reformed, the duration of Parliaments shortened, and the "responsibility of ministers" proved to be no farce ; when all these things are settled to the satisfaction of the people, all other ameliorations will take place as a matter of course.

The Electors of the kingdom have lately been called upon, and may soon be called upon again, to pass judgment upon two very different sets of men. We do not ask them to vote for the one set, because they are called Whigs ; nor to vote against the other set because they are called Tories : but we recommend them to uphold the one, because they are reformers ; and to reject the other, because they are not reformers : to support the Whig party, because they have usually advocated the rights of *the many* ; and to discard the Tories, because they have only been anxious for the

interests of *the few*. The first party laid no taxes on the people, but have taken off a vast amount of those taxes which their opponents had laid on : while the Tories not only levied tax upon tax until above 80 millions a-year were wrung from the community, but constantly refused to diminish one single shilling of the expenditure, until they were unwillingly forced so to do by the persevering attacks of the Reformers.

Should it be remarked, that the late ministers did not fulfil all their promises, we reply, that they were prevented so doing by the factious impediments of the Tories : yet it is really wonderful how much good they did do, now that we at last know all the difficulties they had to contend against. They have taken off rather more than six millions of taxation, and upon items which pressed most unequally upon the middle and poorer classes of society ; they reduced the expenditure above three millions ; they cut down the pension list from the Duke of Wellington's limit of £150,000 a-year, to £75,000 a-year, just one half ; and it was stated a few days back to the Electors of Cricklade, by Mr. Gordon, that he had prepared a plan by order of Lord Melbourne, which would have taken off, this spring, three millions of the malt tax, and would have enabled every man to make his own malt and brew his own beer : they have also preserved peace in Europe, by spilling ink in protocols instead of blood in battles ; and yet raised the influence of Britain to such a pitch, that none dare war when she forbids ; they also favored freedom and good government in Portugal and Spain, and all over the world ; and they gave us that Reform Bill, by which alone many have the right of voting, and ought not therefore to use their new-born power against their benefactors.

Should some persons assert, that Earl Grey unjustly provided for his own family ; and that Lord Brougham secured an additional thousand a-year to his pension : we answer, that so far from Lord Grey creating useless places, he abolished above fourteen hundred of those

which the Tories had created ; and that when offices fell vacant which it was absolutely necessary for the public service to fill up, if he sometimes gave such places to his relations, it was only when he knew them to be capable of honestly and efficiently doing the duties of them. In respect to Lord Chancellor Brougham, he cut down his own salary £4,000 a-year ; so that it will take sixteen years of the additional pension of £1,000, before he will have regained that loss : he also abolished places in his own gift and patronage, which yielded salaries to the amount of £56,000 a-year ; and which former Chancellors—the Mansfields, the Ellenboroughs, the Eldons—always bestowed on their nearest relatives. Lord Eldon, who was Chancellor for nearly a quarter of a century, never reduced one single salary ; and the members of the present Peel-Wellington administration, are said to be now in the receipt of pensions to the amount of £62,000 a-year.

Many may object to the new Poor Law Bill ; and certainly there are several of its clauses which appear to be harsh and unnecessary ; but that Bill—whether good or bad—was carried through the support of the Tory faction. Sir Robert Peel, the Duke of Wellington, and many other leading Tories, highly complimented Lord Grey for having brought forward a measure, which they said would eventually prove most beneficial to the morals of the community.

Earl Grey is also accused of having added 20 millions to the national debt. He did so ; but for the purpose of giving freedom to eight hundred thousand slaves : for as the possession of negroes was not only legalized but actually enforced by many Acts of the British Parliament, the crime was a national one ; and individuals could not in common justice be deprived of their legal property, without receiving a compensation. Some may here exclaim, “ Why no compensation was given for the rotten boroughs : true ; because the possession of rotten boroughs was never legal ; but was contrary both to the spirit and to the letter of the law.

And now, as to that hypocritical demand of giving a "fair trial" to the Peel-Wellington ministry. Did they give a fair trial to Lord Melbourne? No! He was first solicited by the king to put himself at the head of an administration, and was then turned out of office before he was allowed an opportunity of meeting Parliament in even one single session. The plot of the Tories had been long prepared; and is self-evident! But the present set of ministers *have* been tried for many years; and are well known both individually and collectively, as hostile to the rights, the liberties, and the purses of the people. Should they really act hereafter in the spirit of that Reform Bill they called destructive, their former violent opposition to it must have been factious and unprincipled; but should they attempt to coerce the people of this kingdom once more into submission to Tory arbitrary measures, then they will surely bring about that revolution which they affect to deprecate.

It is, however, the king's prerogative to dismiss and to choose his ministers. Most undoubtedly it is so! But the king may not rule without ministers: for the Constitution says, that responsibility shall rest somewhere; and that "the king can do no wrong," because his "ministers are responsible." Now it is impossible to disguise the fact, that the Duke of Wellington was lately Dictator over this country for one month, with more individual power than Cromwell himself ever possessed; for the supplies had been granted, and the Parliament was prorogued, and the Duke had neither a cabinet nor a council to aid him. Such a precedent is very dangerous to our liberties; and may seem to authorize some individual hereafter, to attempt to govern one year, or ten years, without colleagues and without calling Parliament together. It is, in fact, the first step towards having an autocrat in England, as they have in Russia;—for nations only lose their liberties by degrees.

We believe that our king has been deceived; most grossly imposed upon in his old age, by the needy

placedmen and place-hunters of the Tory faction who unfortunately surround him. He has been told, that a re-action had taken place in the public mind against further reforms and further economy ; and, tired out, no doubt, by the unceasing expostulations of those about him, he has once more appealed to his subjects ; in order to ascertain by those whom they may elect to be their representatives in Parliament, what are the real wishes of the people. Does this prove the king to be against reform ? It rather proves, that while he is willing to join his people in carrying such reforms as the majority may desire, he does not wish to urge them forward in changes beyond what they themselves appear eager to see effected.

We have thus given strong reasons for the national opposition to the Tories ! reasons deduced from historical facts ; and not from mere party prejudices. We will now address a few words to the Electors, respecting the LOCAL politics of WESTMORLAND.

Is not this county of Westmorland virtually disfranchised ? Is there any great difference between its present state of degradation, and that of the Applebys, the Cockermouths, the Gattons and Sarums, of the old regime ? Can the Electors of Westmorland say truly that their votes are of any more importance than a piece of waste paper ? But here perhaps we shall be stopped by some ; who may say, " Our votes were of " value before the passing of the Reform Bill ! We " used to get two guineas for riding our own horses " to Appleby at an Election ; or we were driven there " like gentlemen, in coaches drawn by horses having " yellow ribbons to their tails, and having yellow flags " stuck out of the windows ; and we then stopped " fourteen days, shaking hands with the quality, eat- " ing—drinking—and making merry—without one " farthing to pay for our entertainment." It would be idle to argue with such men on their disgraceful

selfishness, or on their shameful prostitution of the moral attributes of man ; but we will speak to what they will better understand,—to their own interests.

In the first place, how long is it since you were entreated to accept of two guineas and much feasting, for the trouble of a ride to Appleby ? How long is it since you were first invited to take an airing in coaches like gentlemen ? Just about seventeen years ago, when Harry Brougham and the Blues contested the representation of the county. Before that time, nobody troubled himself whether you had or had not votes for the county ; no one enquired whether you were fond of rides and cheap dinners : so that if there be any merit in thrusting such treats upon you, it is to the Blues alone you are indebted for the tardy kindness : for until that period, very few of the freeholders of Westmorland knew whether their county sent members to Parliament or not ; still fewer heard when an election was to take place ; and very few indeed were acquainted with the names of the individuals selected to represent them. A comfortable sort of apathy existed on the subject ; and those who thought at all about the matter, cared very little which of the brothers, or sons, or friends, or partizans of the House of Lowther, were nominated to fill the county seats.

But we will prove, that those who received two guineas for their trouble of taking a ride to Appleby, just got one penny in order to be obliged to spend one pound.

How often did elections take place ? How often did you hear the two golden guineas chink in your pockets ? Why, about once in five years : so that for a bribe of forty-two shillings, added to much gluttony and drunkenness at Appleby, you did—as far as was within your power—send men to Parliament, to weigh you down with taxation, for five whole years. That is, you pocketed about eight shillings in each year ; and had to pay one hundred-fold by direct or indirect taxes, on your salt and your malt, your clothes and your fuel, your bread and your meat, your candles,



soap, starch, coals, dogs, horses, carts, shoes, tools ; on every thing which you saw, and on every thing which you touched : all which taxes, and many more besides, were placed on your shoulders by the friends of the Lowthers :—by the Tories. And do you think, that those who valued *your* independence at forty shillings, did not get for themselves or relations, in places and pensions, in sinecures and patronage, at least forty pounds of the public money, for every penny they distributed at elections ? Do you suppose, that those who bought you at eight shillings per head per annum, would hesitate about selling you ? Why should they ? Had you deserved otherwise ? Should other men respect you, when you do not respect yourselves ? Ask your own hearts ; and let your own consciences speak the humiliating truth : the negroes were slaves against their will ; but you sold your birth-right for a mess of porridge.

Will any one have the hardihood to assert, that the Lowthers have an hereditary right to the lord lieutenancy of Westmorland ; and to the nomination of its members to the Commons House of Parliament ? When the late Sir James Lowther chose to disinherit his sister's son, and call a cousin from a distant county to possess his estates ; did that piece of good fortune entitle the present Earl to monopolize to his own power of giving away, all the offices of profit or honor in this county ? His wealth and influence indeed, caused the Tories to elevate him to the Peerage ; but we know of no charter which gives him a right to interfere either with the prerogative of the crown, or with the privileges of the people. There *is* an ancient charter, which entails the sheriffdom of Westmorland on one family ; and although that right does the inhabitants no harm, but, on the contrary, rather relieves the gentry from much trouble and expence ; yet, being at variance with the usual custom in England, it were better perhaps had it never existed. Let us resist, however, all endeavours, whether open or covert, to saddle Westmorland with hereditary lords

lieutenant, and hereditary members of Parliament. No family whatever ought to have such power.

We know that rank and property always must and will have great influence : and when these advantages are possessed by a man of excellent private character like the present Earl of Lonsdale, who spends a large portion of his time among his tenantry, and is said to be an indulgent landlord ; we then most fully admit, that such a man ought to have great sway over the gratitude and affections of all classes of the community. But while we cordially agree to such legitimate and honourable influence of wealth and station, we assert, without fear of being proved in error, that tenants who cultivate the soil with skill, and punctually pay their rents, are under less obligation to their landlords than the latter are to them : for good farmers, who are punctual rent payers, may obtain leases in every part of England ; but it is extremely difficult for landlords to secure such tenants anywhere.

If, then, the private virtues and large property of the Earl of Lonsdale ought to give him considerable influence with the constituency of Westmorland in the choice of one of their representatives ; still it cannot be contended, that he ought to have the privilege of converting the county into a pocket-borough for both members. Even his own partizans, the Yellows, acknowledge that such excessive domination over the suffrages of the inhabitants is both insulting and unconstitutional : and the Lowthers themselves are said to have admitted the justice of the complaint, when Mr. Nowell was elected member four years ago ; for the excitement of the people in favor of reform was then so great, that the Blues could undoubtedly have secured the return of *both* the county representatives ; yet were satisfied with one, on the understanding that the Lord Lieutenant would never again attempt to put in two of his own sons or partizans for Westmorland. At the very next election, however, just two years after the above agreement was entered into, the two sons of Lord Lonsdale *were* put up in opposition to

Mr. Barham ; and beat him in the contest. It has been said in excuse, that the Lowthers are not to blame if the Electors *will* have them both as their representatives : but this is an assertion unworthy of those who made it, and of the constituency to which it was addressed ; for the fact is notorious, that only 19 mushroom votes were polled for Barham, but 227 mushroom votes were polled for Colonel Lowther.

The district of Shap Fells carried the election, and swamped the county.

And let us here appeal to the common sense of the Electors ; for we abhor any appeal to their bellies and their love of beer : let us ask whether the Electors consult their own interests in allowing Lord and Col. Lowther to be called their representatives in Parliament. It is as notorious as the sun at noon-day, that the Tories—among whom the Lowthers have always been conspicuous characters—have overwhelmed this nation with taxation and with debt : and it would, therefore, be mere waste of time to enumerate all the votes of the members for the county of Westmorland during the whole of their political career ; their almost invariable opposition to any and every sort of reform ; their almost invariable support of every ministerial act of coercion or extravagance : but we will briefly extract from the published List of Votes before us, the manner in which Lord and Colonel Lowther have acted during the two Sessions of the first Reformed Parliament ; for as they also *now* profess to be reformers, let us judge them by their acts since the passing of the Reform Bill.

In the first Session of the Reformed House of Commons—that is, in 1833, it appears that neither Lord nor Colonel Lowther took their seats until about six weeks after the meeting of Parliament ; therefore, the county of Westmorland had no representatives at all during that very important period : and out of fifty-eight questions of the greatest public interest which were brought forward during that Session, Lord Lowther only voted on **NINE**, and the Colonel only voted

on TWELVE. The principal subjects on which they did take the trouble of voting, were as follows:—

They both voted *against* Lord Althorp's proposal to have a Property Tax instead of a Malt Tax: but neither seem to have been present when Sir W. Ingilby carried the reduction of one-half the Malt Tax, a few days before.
 _____ voted *for* the repeal of the House and Window Tax.
 _____ voted *for* the postponement of the Bank Charter.
 _____ voted *against* an inquiry into bribery and corruption at Liverpool Election.

Lord Lowther voted *against* abolishing flogging for other crimes than mutiny and drunkenness.

_____ voted *against* the Irish Church Reform Bill.
 _____ voted *against* allowing any compensation to Slave Proprietors.

Col. Lowther voted *against* Parliament disposing of surplus money from sale of Irish Bishops' lands.
 _____ voted *against* removing the disabilities of the Jews.
 _____ voted *for* Lord Ashley's Factory Bill.
 _____ voted *for* an Address to the King in favour of Poland.
 _____ voted *against* Dissenters having grants of money in India as well as the Church of England.

In the Session of last year, 1834, out of fifty-eight questions of great public interest then brought forward, Lord Lowther's name only appears ONCE among the votes; and that once was *against* Dissenters being allowed to graduate at Oxford and Cambridge. Colonel Lowther appears to have voted six times out of the fifty-eight divisions:—

He voted *against* Disfranchising the Liverpool Freemen.
 _____ *for* an inquiry into what reductions can be made in the Malt Tax.
 _____ *for* taxing the nation £250,000 a-year in lieu of Church Rates.
 _____ *against* Free Trade.
 _____ *against* the Poor Law Bill.
 _____ *against* Dissenters being allowed to graduate at Oxford and Cambridge.

And now judge for yourselves, Electors! Speak boldly and fearlessly, like Englishmen—like men who scorn bribery and intimidation and *five shillings worth of beer!* I have the inhabitants of Westmorland good

cause to be satisfied with the attention paid by their two representatives to their Parliamentary duties? Have the members of this county, during their long public career, ever done one thousandth part of the good for the farmers and labourers that the late Mr. Curwen, the Blue member for Cumberland, used to try to do in every Session while he sat in Parliament? Have they always been ready to present your petitions? Have they stood up in the House of Commons to speak for your local wants and wishes? Have they ever pointed out the peculiar exemptions from taxation necessary among farmers of a mountainous district? If their mode of performing their duties as your representatives in Parliament during the two last Sessions is not sufficient to open your eyes, their votes during the whole course of their political lives can be extracted from the Parliamentary documents, and published for your information.

We entreat you seriously to consider in your own minds, that the elective franchise is a sacred trust; placed in your hands for the benefit of the whole community, and not for the selfish advantage of yourselves alone: remember, that the great majority of our countrymen have *not* the right of voting at elections; and that they put confidence in your honesty to guard *their* interests and liberties: and reflect, that you are as much bound by religion and honor to give a conscientious vote at an election, as you are when acting as a jurymen in a court of justice. Neither deceive yourselves, nor allow others to deceive you; but be assured you will have to answer hereafter for the way in which you have performed your duties as Electors, just as much as you will have to answer for all your other actions towards your neighbours.

We will close this Address, by mentioning a fact which has been always kept as much as possible from the knowledge of the people of this kingdom. So far from the great mass of the population living under the despotic governments of Europe envying the free institutions of Britons, they laugh at our folly, and

sneer at us as dupes. To all the boasts of our travellers, this answer is given:—“ Your Constitution in “ Britain is an excellent thing for the privileged classes, “ the rich, the noble, the well connected, the highly “ educated professional men, and the gentry; but “ what good does it do for all those many millions “ who have to pay heavy taxes, without the smallest “ chance of ever personally benefitting by the waste-“ ful expenditure of your government? We have “ only one master; who has despotic power over the “ lives and property of all of us; over our nobles as “ over ourselves; but his taxes don’t reach us; for “ we can’t pay, and must be always coaxed to support “ his power. You Britons, on the contrary, have “ some local master in every county, in almost every “ parish; some great aristocrat with more real power “ than your king himself: and yet the taxes of your “ king fall most heavily on the labouring and indus-“ trious classes. Leave us, then, to be ruled by one, “ whom you may call a despot; but whom we call a “ a father.” This opinion is very commonly held by the people on the Continent, and more especially in Austria; and is the true reason why we have lately seen so many constitutional governments attempted to be formed in Europe, by the educated and middle ranks of society, and so frequently overturned by a despotic prince backed by the overwhelming mass of the labouring population, who are uneducated.

But the Reform Bill, which we have now wrung from the grasp of the oligarchy of this kingdom, has at length given to the many millions who pay taxes, a direct interest in the free institutions of Britain; for it has given to the Commons the power of returning real—not sham—representatives to the Commons House of Parliament: to that House which has the power of taxing them. Brother Electors! let us guard strictly, and keep strongly, this great privilege: and Britain will indeed soon become—“ the envy of the world, and the admiration of surrounding nations.”

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